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	INR-00	IO-10	L-01	MCO-01	ADS-00	MMP-00	M-00
	OIC-02	OIG-04	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	DTC-01
	FMP-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	SSD-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00

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O 110109Z MAY 95
 FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3994
 AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
 AMEMBASSY ROME
 AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
 DIRFBI WASHDC
 FAA WASHDC
 AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
 AMEMBASSY BELIZE
 CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA
 USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HTS PM
 CJCS WASHDC
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 NSC WASHDC
 DIA WASHDC
 SECNAV WASHDC
 DEAHQS WASHDC
 DIRNSA FT GEORGE G MEADE MD
 CIA WASHDC

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 CINCFORSCOM FT MCPHERSON GA//FCJ2//
 JCS WASHDC//J2//
 ALL USCONS MEXICO
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 WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
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 AMEMBASSY LONDON
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: WILLIAM E LANDFAIR
 DATE/CASE ID: 28 JUL 2003 200201469

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AMEMBASSY MADRID
USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
USMISSION USNATO
COGARD INTELCOORDCEN WASHDC
DOJ WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
ONI SUITLAND MD//JJJ//
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
OSAF WASHDC//IAL//
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY CARACAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 17 MEXICO 010043

DEPARTMENT PASS USOAS

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, MARR, MCAP, KPRP, MASS, MOPS, PREL,
PINR, PARM, PBTS, SNAR, PINS, PHUM, SOCI, MX
SUBJECT: THE MEXICAN ARMY -- STILL PASSIVE,
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ISOLATED, AND ABOVE THE FRAY?

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THIS REPORT PARTIALLY FULFILLS POST REPORTING PLAN FOR 1995.
3. SUMMARY. IN THE FACE OF A TURBULENT MEXICAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION, THE MEXICAN MILITARY REMAINS BY AND LARGE ISOLATED FROM THE CURRENTS OF CRISIS EDDYING AROUND THE GOVERNMENT, (ALTHOUGH THE CRISIS HAS AFFECTED BOTH MILITARY BUDGETS AND THE FINANCIAL LIVES OF MILITARY OFFICERS MARKEDLY.) WHILE FAR MORE AWARE THAN IN THE PAST OF THE NEED TO STRENGTHEN ITS PUBLIC IMAGE (PARTICULARLY WITH ALL PARTS OF THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT COMPETING FOR SCARCE FINANCIAL RESOURCES), THE MEXICAN MILITARY REMAINS A WORLD LARGELY SEPARATE FROM THE REST OF MEXICO.
4. THE MILITARY HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT AFFECTED, HOWEVER, BY THE SITUATION IN CHIAPAS, WHERE IT WAS

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ISOLATED, AND ABOVE THE FRAY?

PGR IN CHIAPAS, NO ONE HAS GONE SO FAR AS TO
ACTUALLY INDICATE A CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP
THERE.

CHIAPAS WAS THE CATALYST FOR CHANGE

31. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO UNDERSTAND THE ROLE THAT
THE CHIAPAS INSURGENCY HAS PLAYED IN MEXICAN
POLITICAL LIFE WITHOUT UNDERSTANDING THE POSTURE
THAT THE MILITARY HAS TAKEN TOWARDS IT. THE
MEXICAN ARMY, LIKE THE REST OF MEXICO, CLAIMS TO
HAVE BEEN CAUGHT BY SURPRISE JANUARY 1, 1994, WHEN
THE INSURGENCY BROKE OUT. (ALTHOUGH THE ARMY WAS
AWARE OF AN ONGOING INSURGENCY IN CHIAPAS, IT
CLAIMS TO HAVE BEEN UNAWARE THAT THE EZLN WOULD
MAKE ITS DRAMATIC ACTIONS ON THAT DATE.) IT WAS
HUMILIATED BY THE FACT THAT THE PUBLIC VIEWED IT
AS UNPREPARED FOR THE INSURGENCY. ITS TROOPS
WERE, TO SAY THE LEAST, NOT PREPARED FOR
COUNTERINSURGENCY COMBAT.

32. TO MAKE MATTERS WORSE, THE NEWSPAPERS WERE
SOON FULL OF ALLEGATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES
(SOME, WE BELIEVE, BUT NOT BY ANY MEANS ALL,
UNTRUE OR EXAGGERATED) COMMITTED BY THE ARMY. THE
ARMY HAD, AND STILL HAS, FEW OR NO FRIENDS IN THE
MEDIA TO WHOM IT CAN TURN TO GIVE ITS SIDE OF THE
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STORY AND EXPECT A SYMPATHETIC HEARING, AND SO
LITTLE "PRO-MILITARY" SPIN DEVELOPED IN THE PRESS
OR AMONG A PUBLIC WHICH STILL HAS BITTER MEMORIES
OF THE ARMY'S BLOODY ROLE IN PUTTING DOWN STUDENT
DEMONSTRATIONS BEFORE THE 1968 MEXICO CITY
OLYMPICS, THE SO-CALLED "TLATELOLCO MASSACRE."
THE PERCEIVED HUMILIATION GREW WORSE IN THE

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FOLLOWING WEEKS WHEN PRESIDENT SALINAS DECIDED TO
TURN TO MEDIATION RATHER THAN TO THE MILITARY AS
HIS MEANS TO DEAL WITH THE CONFLICT; THE ARMY
VIEWED HIS DECISION AS A SLAP IN THE FACE.

33. BUT THIS PERCEIVED HUMILIATION STEMMING OUT
OF CHIAPAS HAS BROUGHT TANGIBLE CHANGES IN THE
ARMY. FOR EXAMPLE, THE STINGING CHARGES OF HUMAN
RIGHTS ABUSE HAVE LED TO A FAR GREATER
CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS
A PUBLIC ISSUE, AND THE NEED TO INVESTIGATE
ALLEGATIONS. THE ORIGINAL HUMAN RIGHTS

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	INR-00	IO-10	L-01	MCO-01	ADS-00	MMP-00	M-00
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	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	DTC-01
	FMP-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	SSD-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00

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O 110109Z MAY 95
FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4004
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
DIRFBI WASHDC
FAA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY BELIZE
CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA
USSOUTHCOM QUARRY HTS PM
CJCS WASHDC
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
NSC WASHDC
DIA WASHDC
SECNAV WASHDC
DEAHQS WASHDC
DIRNSA FT GEORGE G MEADE MD

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CIA WASHDC

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CMC WASHDC//CMC//
CINCFORSCOM FT MCPHERSON GA//FCJ2//
JCS WASHDC//J2//
ALL USCONS MEXICO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
DOD WASHDC
AMEMBASSY MADRID
USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
USMISSION USNATO
COGARD INTELCOORDCEN WASHDC
DOJ WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
ONI SUITLAND MD//JJJ//
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
OSAF WASHDC//IAL//
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY CARACAS

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DEPARTMENT PASS USOAS

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, MARR, MCAP, KPRP, MASS, MOPS, PREL,
PINR, PARM, PBTS, SNAR, PINS, PHUM, SOCI, MX
SUBJECT: THE MEXICAN ARMY -- STILL PASSIVE,
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ISOLATED, AND ABOVE THE FRAY?

ALLEGATIONS LED TO THE IMMEDIATE CREATION OF A
BUREAU WITH OFFICES ON THE GROUND IN CHIAPAS TO
INVESTIGATE, ACCORDING TO PERES TOLEDO, "EVERY
SINGLE COMPLAINT, NO MATTER HOW MINOR, AGAINST THE
MEXICAN ARMY IN CHIAPAS." HE SAID THAT SOME MINOR

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INFRACTIONS HAVE ACTUALLY BEEN PUNISHED, AND DISCOUNTS MURDER CHARGES IN OCOSINGO AND ELSEWHERE AGAINST MEMBERS OF THE ARMY, SAYING THAT INVESTIGATIONS DID NOT CONFIRM THE ACCUSATIONS. RELIABLE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS AND OTHERS, WHO CLAIM THAT THEY HAVE THE "MORAL" EVIDENCE, WOULD NOT AGREE WITH HIS ASSESSMENT.

34. PERES TOLEDO CLAIMED, WITHOUT SUPPLYING EVIDENCE, THAT OFFICERS WITH SOME PUBLIC RELATIONS SAVVY ARE NOW FAR MORE LIKELY TO BE PROMOTED ON THAT BASIS THAN BEFORE, AND THE ARMY NOW HAS A PRESS OFFICE (WHICH AN OBSERVER SAYS NEVERTHELESS "IS NOT ALLOWED TO SHARE ANY INFORMATION WITH THE PRESS!") THIS ENHANCED ATTENTION TO PUBLIC RELATIONS MAY FINALLY BE PRODUCING TANGIBLE EFFECTS; A RECENT ARMY "CHARM OFFENSIVE" IN CHIAPAS WHICH BEGAN IN FEBRUARY, 1995, HAS BEGUN TO RESULT IN A FEW MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS FEATURING PICTURES OF MILITARY LEADERS IN CHIAPAS HIGHLIGHTING THE ARMY'S PEACEFUL INTENTIONS AND CIVIC ACTION ACTIVITIES IN THE STRIFE-TORN STATE.

35. ANOTHER TANGIBLE CHANGE IN THE ARMY STEMMING
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FROM CHIAPAS IS THE CREATION OF COUNTERINSURGENCY UNITS. IN MANY WAYS, THE MEXICAN ARMY IN MODERN TIMES HAS FUNCTIONED MORE AS A HIGHLY DISCIPLINED POLICE AND RESCUE SQUAD, COMBATING NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING AND PROVIDING MEDICAL ASSISTANCE AND EMERGENCY RESCUE FACILITIES, THAN AS A COMBAT FORCE. THESE NEW UNITS MAKE THE ARMY MORE CAPABLE OF ADDRESSING CONFLICTS SUCH AS THE ONE IN CHIAPAS, THE ONLY SORT MODERN-DAY MEXICO IS LIKELY TO FACE WITHIN ITS BORDERS. BUT OBSERVERS SAY THAT, SO FAR, THESE UNITS HAVE NOT LIVED UP TO EXPECTATIONS. THEY WERE DESIGNED AS SPECIAL OPERATIONS UNITS, BUT HAVE, TO DATE, RECEIVED NO SPECIAL OPERATIONS TRAINING.

36. A GREAT FEAR OF THE GOM IS THAT THE ARMED MOVEMENT IN CHIAPAS WOULD SPREAD TO OTHER SOUTHERN STATES POPULATED LARGELY BY INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, SUCH AS TABASCO AND OAXACA (OR EVEN AS FAR AS

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	FMP-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	SSD-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00

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-----C4574D 110115Z /38

O 110109Z MAY 95
 FM AMEMBASSY MEXICO
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE. 4005
 AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
 AMEMBASSY ROME
 AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
 DIRFBI WASHDC
 FAA WASHDC
 AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
 AMEMBASSY BELIZE
 CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA
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 AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
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 CINCFORSCOM FT MCPHERSON GA//FCJ2//
 JCS WASHDC//J2//
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 WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
 AMEMBASSY BOGOTA

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AMEMBASSY LONDON
DOD WASHDC
AMEMBASSY MADRID
USUN NEW YORK -
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
USMISSION USNATO
COGARD INTELCOORDCEN WASHDC
DOJ WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
ONI SUITLAND MD//JJJ//
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
OSAF WASHDC//IAL//
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY CARACAS

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DEPARTMENT PASS USOAS

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, MARR, MCAP, KPRP, MASS, MOPS, PREL,
PINR, PARM, PBTS, SNAR, PINS, PHUM, SOCI, MX
SUBJECT: THE MEXICAN ARMY -- STILL PASSIVE,
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ISOLATED, AND ABOVE THE FRAY?

PUEBLA, VERACRUZ AND GUERRERO), ONE OF THE ORIGINAL STATED GOALS OF THE LEADERS OF THE EZLN. REMINDED OF THAT POSSIBILITY, PERES TOLEDO REPLIED FORCEFULLY THAT THE UNITS WERE PERMANENT AND WOULD NOT BE DISBANDED AFTER THE CHIAPAS DISPUTE HAD BEEN SETTLED.

37. ZEDILLO'S TEMPORARY USE OF THE ARMY TO STEM THE INSURGENCY WITH PGR ARREST WARRANTS AND MILITARY ACTION FOLLOWING THE DISCOVERY OF ARMS CACHES WAS A TONIC TO THAT SIGNIFICANT PORTION OF THE ARMY THAT WANTED TO ADDRESS ITS EARLIER HUMILIATION BY A SUCCESSFUL COUNTERINSURGENCY ACTION. ALTHOUGH ZEDILLO HAS MADE IT CLEAR HE WILL NOT RELY ON THE ARMY TO SOLVE A CONFLICT WHICH CAN ONLY BE SUCCESSFULLY SOLVED THROUGH MEDIATION, THE ARMY HAS NOW SHOWN THE MEXICAN PUBLIC AND GOVERNMENT THAT IT COULD REGAIN REBEL

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TERRITORY QUICKLY AND EFFICIENTLY, WITH FEW CONFRONTATIONS. ACADEMIC OBSERVERS HAVE SUGGESTED TO US THAT THIS CHANCE FOR THE ARMY TO RECOUP ITS LOST HONOR MAY GO A LONG WAY IN ENSURING ITS CONTINUED LOYALTY TO ZEDILLO'S GOVERNMENT.

POSSIBLE MILITARY ROLE IF MASS INSTABILITY OCCURS

38. BY NOW, WE HAVE BECOME ACCUSTOMED TO
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OCCASIONAL PIECES IN U.S. NEWSPAPERS HINTING THAT SOMEHOW INSTABILITY COULD LEAD TO SOME FORM OF MILITARY INTERVENTION IN MEXICO'S CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT. THESE SCENARIOS STRIKE US AS FARFETCHED, TO SAY THE LEAST. OFTEN, FRANKLY, THESE ARTICLES SEEM TO SERVE AS A SORT OF JOURNALISTIC SNAKE-BITE MEDICINE TO COMPENSATE FOR LACK OF HARD KNOWLEDGE, IN WHICH OVEREAGER REPORTERS PUT THE MOST SENSATIONAL GLOSS ON THE HYPOTHESES OF ACADEMICS OR ATTENTION-SEEKING RUMORS ON MEXICO CITY'S "INSIDE-THE-PERIFERICO" COCKTAIL CIRCUIT. WHAT MAKES THESE OCCASIONAL JOURNALISTIC AND OTHER SUPPOSITIONS MOST QUESTIONABLE IS THAT NO ONE IN MEXICO, OUTSIDE OF THE MILITARY ITSELF, ENJOYS MUCH (OR ANY) ACCESS TO THE INNER WORKINGS OF MEXICAN MILITARY. JOURNALISTS IN PARTICULAR (MEXICAN OR FOREIGN) ARE ANATHEMA TO THOSE WHO RUN MEXICAN DEFENSE. WE IMAGINE THAT IGNORANCE OF THE FACT THAT THE

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